

Becoming a Detective: Historical Case File #1—Selling Suffrage

At the request of the textbook committee your class has been asked to investigate the role of Hazel Hunkins and whether she should be added to the next edition of your textbook. In order to answer this larger question, the committee must first understand what tactics were effective in gaining women the right to vote. As a member of the commission selected to review the case, your job is to examine the following documents to decide how effective the National Woman's Party was in its use of symbols, technology, and public relations.

- What symbols, technologies, and tactics did women use to win the right to vote?
- How did the media of the day respond?

Step 1. Review Background Information

Before 1912, the suffrage movement focused primarily on state campaigns; nine states had granted women voting rights by 1912, with Montana and Nevada joining the ranks of woman suffrage states in 1914. By that year, a younger, more militant wing of the suffrage movement began to assert itself; under the leadership of Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, these young radicals “endeavored to shift [the main suffrage organization] NAWSA’s attention away from winning voting rights for women at the state and local levels to securing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to enfranchise women nationally.” (Library of Congress American Memory, “Historical Overview of the National Woman’s Party,” Web. 4 Sept. 2015. <http://www.loc.gov/collections/static/women-of-protest/images/history.pdf>)

According to historian Mary Margaret Finnegan, the young radicals infused “the cause with a well-needed dose of spectacle, drama, and cross-class appeal,” making “woman suffrage a topic of national interest. They

inaugurated woman suffrage parades, mass meetings, and entertainments; they aggressively lobbied state and federal legislatures, vocally criticized government, and refused to defer to either authority or tradition.” (From Finnegan, Mary Margaret. *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture & Votes for Women*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999, pp. 5-6)

Step 2: Investigate the Evidence

Expect to spend about ten minutes on each of the sources in your packet, available online at <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/women/HazelHunkins>.

Exhibit 1-A Undated newspaper clipping:

San Francisco Call and Post, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, Switchboard Photo, box 60, folder 10, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

Exhibit 1-B Newspaper article: “5,000 Women in Suffrage Parade at Washington,” *South Bend [Indiana] News Times*, May 9, 1914

Exhibit 1-C Photograph: Woman Suffrage Parade, 1914, Harris and Ewing, photographer. Harris & Ewing Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. LC-DIG-hec-04137.

Exhibit 1-D Typed letter: Typed letter: Hazel Hunkins to Mother, July 8, 1917, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

For each source, answer all the questions on the Document Analysis Worksheet. **Note: You will be sharing these answers with your class in an “exhibit” format—so write legibly!**

Step 3: Search for Clues

1. List three things that you did NOT know about the woman’s suffrage movement before

reading these documents that you know now.

2. Did you find any instances when the documents contradict one another? If so, describe them. Which account do you think is more accurate? Why?

3. What techniques, symbols, and types of technology did suffrage activists use to advance their cause?

4. Characterize Hazel Hunkins' views on publicity. Do you agree with her?

Step 4: Crack the Case

Based on your analysis of the documents and citing evidence to support your answer, please create a presentation to share with the other members of the textbook committee (your class). You may use technology if you wish. Your presentation should answer the following questions:

1. What strategies and tactics did women use to win the right to vote?

2. How did the media of the day respond to these strategies and tactics?

3. Whose perspective was not represented in the material you read? How might other perspectives change your analysis?

4. How does the material you analyzed relate to Hazel Hunkins and the committee's larger question: whether she should be included in the next edition of the textbook?

Make sure to include in your report:

- Specific examples! Quote from the documents.
- Information about where and how the documents contradicted each other (if this occurred) and how you decided which ones to trust.
- A list of any additional questions you still have that were left unanswered through your investigation.

After your presentation is complete, organize your material into an "exhibit" so your fellow committee members can easily access your evidence when creating their briefs. Your exhibit must include your answers to the following questions:

- What is the source called?
- Who created it?
- When was it created? How soon after the event it describes?
- Who was the audience for this document?
- Why was it created?
- Did you find evidence of bias or point of view? If so, what?
- How do these factors affect the source's credibility?

Historical Case File #1—Selling Suffrage

CISCO CALL AND POST * * *California's Greatest Evening Newspaper* *

BIGGEST WOMEN'S RALLY IN S. F. TO BE HELD SUNDAY

Miss Hazel Hunkins, who will be at the telephone switchboard Friday evening to handle the Chicago connections when women on the stage will listen to speeches being made by suffragists in the Illinois city. Miss Hunkins was snapped at the switchboard by an International Film Service camera man.



People On-Stage to Hear Chi- cago Suffrage Talks Over Telephone

Sunday night's rally of the California Woman's Party in Scottish Rite Hall is expected to be the biggest political demonstration ever made by women in this city. The meeting, set for Friday evening, will be combined with that of Sunday.

Miss Hazel Hunkins, who has been campaigning for the party against President Wilson and all Democratic candidates, will take a conspicuous part in the meeting. Mrs. William Kent, wife of Congressman Kent, will preside and the speakers will be Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Miss Maude Younger, Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille and Miss Gail Laughlin.

Fifty telephone receivers will be installed on the stage, so that those sitting there can listen directly to the address of leading suffragists over the telephone from Chicago.

The Chicago speakers will tell the reasons why they are opposed to President Wilson.

Exhibit 1-A

San Francisco Call and Post, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 60, folder 10, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

5,000 WOMEN IN SUFFRAGE PARADE AT WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON, May 9.—Suffrage cohorts marched and countermarched through the streets of Washington today, making a brilliant spectacle as they formed for the great parade to the capital to present their petition to congress asking that women be given the right to vote.

More than 5,000 women from every state in the union, representing every profession, interest and class, enthusiastic over the prospects of the demonstration gathered for the march.

Distinctive attire was worn by delegations from the various states and the waving banners and pennants made the demonstration one of the most striking that ever has been witnessed here. The assembling point of the marchers was Lafayette square and the course of the march was up Pennsylvania av. to the capitol. The forces were marshalled by members of the Congressional Union Equal Suffrage.

Rep. Mondell of Wyoming, who introduced the resolution proposing a constitutional amendment to provide equal suffrage was given the place of honor in the procession. a carriage near the head of the parade being assigned for his use.

The day was clear and moderately warm, letting the women wear their prettiest gowns and bringing out crowds of spectators apparently friendly to the cause.

The only discordant note was furnished by the anti-suffragets who posted small boys along the line of parade to distribute red roses, the emblem of opposition to suffrage.

"The March of the Women," composed by Dr. Ethel Smyth, was selected as the official song of the pageant and a chorus of 1,000 women was chosen to furnish the music of the procession.

Exhibit 1-B

"5,000 Women in Suffrage Parade at Washington," *South Bend [Indiana] News Times*, May 9, 1914. Full page available at <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87055779/1914-05-09/ed-1/seq-1.pdf>

Historical Case File #1—Selling Suffrage



Exhibit 1-C

“Woman Suffrage Parade, 1914, Washington, D.C.,” Harris and Ewing, photographer. Harris & Ewing Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. LC-DIG-hec-04137.

Notes: Title and date from unverified caption data received with the Harris & Ewing Collection.

Historical Case File #1—Selling Suffrage

Exhibit 1-D

Typed letter: Hazel Hunkins to Mother, July 8, 1917, Hazel Hunkins-Hallinan Papers, MC 532, box 61, folder 9, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute

July 8, 1917.

Dear Mother,

Somehow the ice was broken by the last letter I wrote and it is easier to write you now. It seems a tragedy that the phrase "the ice is broken" should be a fitting one to use to my own mother, but it was hard to write and now it isn't so hard even if I have yet to tell the things which have been the cause of that spiritual separation.

I have gotten in touch with the correspondent of the Republican newspapers of Montana and most of the stuff which isn't A.P. stuff will hereafter be the dope from my own pen. I think that if I had been able to do that before, things would have been put in a very different light ~~put~~ there, but those openings do not come to one until after ^{he or she has} ~~they have~~ become "prominent" so called in the newspaper world. So after this you can believe almost half of what you read as "special to the Gazette!"

I think I once told you in a wire that I had been made organization secretary which means that I have had a sort of raise in the world, although that raise is not financial. I have charge of the organizers out in the states; directing their work in as much as anyone can direct when one is not on the field. I send speakers all over the country and direct the work of all the state chairmen in arranging meetings for the speakers, a sort of middle-man for the whole business. At present I have my thumbs on a tour of Mabel Vernon in Morristown, N.J. Saturday; Hartford, Conn. Monday; Framingham, Mass Tuesday; New York, Wednesday; Philadelphia, Thursday. Also a meeting for Mrs. Lawrence Lewis in Sherwood Forest on Tuesday; one for Iris Calderhead in Baltimore Monday and one in Greenville, S.C. Friday. Those meetings are all managed from Headquarters and I am the one who does the managing. It is interesting work and I like the responsibility of it. To-day Miss Paul asked me to do the writing of the organization page in "The Suffragist" every week. That means about 500 words a week from my none too fluent pen. I am crazy about that idea because it will make me write and that is what I want to do more than anything else. I am crazy about the opportunities, of all kinds

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that this work gives me. There is always one thing that makes me a little dissatisfied. That is, that my life seems to be nothing but "getting experience!" It does seem that sometime soon I ought to be giving-out instead of forever taking-in. I have never reached the place where I have given-out rather than taken-in. I seem forever to be in that preparatory school of life. Life sometimes seems very serious and all that but it all seems a preparation for something else that has ^{not} yet come. That is the problem that comes to my mind every once in a while and but for that problem I was never so satisfied that I am doing what I want to, as I am now. I love my chemistry and I often think that I want to go back to it, as I would go back to a thing that I am particularly well prepared for. But what I wish is that I had studied political economy, and American History, if you will, (I see you smile) and even law, as I once heard Papa say he'd like to have me.

I don't know just how to begin telling you all of what has happened. I guess chronologically is the best way, but how in the world I can remember one day from another is more than I can tell. For Heavens sake read "The Suffragist", it alone can give you the spirit of the whole thing. I am sending a whole lot of the papers to every friend I have (or I should say, had, in Montana). I have send a batch of them to the members of the woman's Clubs and ^{as well as I} ~~although~~ I know they will never confess to reading it, I know that they will ~~get~~ read it out of curiosity. I have gotten a lot of letters from all over the country, from people I have never met and people that I never knew even remembered me saying all sorts of perfectly wonderful things to me in praise. The people who condemn do not do so to your face, they do so to the press. It has been a wonderful way of separating my friends and my acquaintances. I take for example Mrs Sasse. She wrote me a letter I shall always keep as an example of true devotion. Mr. Sasse wrote to Senator Stone of Mo. and asked him to place himself at my disposal as far as legal advice was concerned and to Mr. Ruby, representative from Brunswick, to help me if I needed help. The Sasse family are just about the dearest people in the world to me. Also Senator Walsh and Miss Rankin have both been at my disposal with their approval and almost congratulations as to our actions. Neither of them can take public

stand on the question. I tell you about that later.

To light into the bare facts of the situation. On Wednesday -----I cant get the right order of events so I am only going to try and give you what just concerned me and maybe I wont even get that straight. The Russian banner episode happened Wednesday June 20th. On the morning of June 21st another Russian banner was prepared and was taken out. The first banner had been demolished by one man who was an unauthorized person from New York and ~~had~~ the actions on the part of the police, although they were somewhat late in the first instance, had lead us to believe that we would have police protection if the same roudy element should appear again. The second banner was torn out by a youngster in the spirit of bravado, because the first offender had not been interfered with by the police. The police had shut one eye to all of this as they have to a lot of other things in the District until someone ~~there~~ has the courage to show them up. There was nothing but the truth on the banners and the offender was the the man committing the roudy act not the women who silently stood there as they had stood for 152 days preceeding.

After the youngster had torn the second Russian banner out I relieved one of the pickets, as I have done for every day since Jan. 10th, holding the same banner that I have from the time that Congress reconvened till that day. It read "We demand democracy and self government in our own land". The word had gone out that there would be a third Russian Banner in due course of time and there was a goodnatured crowd waiting to see the act of tearing the third one from the frame. I stood there as I have stood for months and innocently waited for my relief to come as it always does every hour. We never stand more then an hour unless we want to and not that unless we want to.

A Mrs. Richardson came up to me and said I ought to be ashamed of myself to stand there and hold that banner. She was very common looking and seeing her hostile beyond words I said nothing. She ~~w~~ walked on by and I supposed the incident closed. It is seldom anyone comes up to you with anything but pleasant remarks. A minute after this same woman came back and took hold of my banner and spit on it. My heart sank. It was the first time I had seen such venom and I only could meet

it by absolutely ignoring it and saying nothing. That is a habit I learned--when in doubt do nothing. This woman then began to upraid for standing there when there was a war on and called me a traitor. Gladly do I join the "traitors" if doing what I was doing is traitor. What she said was too much for Mrs. Haecox who was standing with me. Her husband is an army officer, her brother in the army reserve, and her father a retired army officer. She said as much. With that, this woman (I now believe to have been the tool of someone else) tore the banner from the staff that Mrs. Haecox was holding and ran into the street waving it in the air and then stamped on it in the gutter. I think if I did know American history better I could find an analogy in our colonial times, of just such Tory actions. The crowd had gathered and I saw this woman running for me. What was a crowd, vanished, and I saw only a big woman in a white dress with a black belt and black shoes--and a curious mental picture is that her shoes were run over--her heels leaned in--a black bag and a black hat, red hair and a hair lip. I never felt so alone and so helpless in my life. I could have run from her,; I could have stopped her with the pole of my banner; I could have climbed the White House fence, as some papers said I did. I could have done many things and every one of them flashed through my mind. I never felt so superior before and I never expect to again. The crowd didn't exist. I had two objects in mind one was to save my banner and the other was to be a non-resistant pacifist and not an offender in any way.

To save my banner I stepped onto the coping of the White House fence and to maintain it and be non-resistant I planted myself there with a beautiful mental determination to stay. One big red hand reached up and tore off my regalia and loosened the pin off my dress. I held the banner then with one hand and stuck my arm out to keep her off. Her other hand reached for the banner and it swayed. Mrs. Haecox by this time had stepped to the other side of me and took the banner from my hand. That leaving both of my hands free, I took both of Mrs. Richardson's hands in mine and by some God-given power, I held them there like a vice with no apparent effort on my part at all. If anyone had asked me if I could have held that woman I never in the world would have

said yes. But she was held if she ever was in her life. For a minute the banner was saved and it was all over. But the man who had incensed Mrs. Richardson was not content to see the work incomplete and he stepped up to complete it. It only took one jerk from this man to rip the banner from the staff held by the unsuspecting Mrs. Heacox.

Up to that time there had been only four people in the ~~the~~ drama--the feline, her incenser, Mrs. Heacox and myself. When that man tore the banner down, then the whole vast crowd again came crashing into my consciousness. It had all ^{happened} ~~happened~~ in probably three minutes but I have lived every second of it over many times and I know every move that was made during the entire time. One minute I was standing there in perfect peace and quiet holding a banner that has had it duplicate in every fight that has ever been made for political rights; ~~the~~ three minutes later I was holding a broken staff with no banner and the center of a surging crowd, and to quote one of our most distinguished members in Washington who was passing in her electric and came out to stand by me, I stood there with a "palor and determination on my face that was nothing short of sublime"---that from eyes looking through rosy glasses. Well anyway it was "an Experience". I never want to go through it again and I hate to read the accounts of it. I cringe when I do, but I try and cheer up and think, as I have told you before you, it will be funny stuff for my grandchildren to read.

I don't know whether you got newspaper accounts of ~~it~~ it all but here are all the horrible details, ~~and~~ I haven't spared you at all. I am not in the least to blame for anything that happened. I was a victim of circumstance and I conducted myself most admirably. The awful publicity is no fault of mine. It was all so unexpected and so sudden. I won't dwell more on this incident because others will be just as interesting.

Maybe you don't think it all very interesting. It wasn't at the time, but it has been ever since--the psychology of the crowd, the mental pictures I have of it, the feelings I have of it----I feel also very different about trying to do something that the average American public doesn't understand or is unfriendly to. I know a lot more about the wheels of justice than I used to, both legally speaking and

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speaking in terms of public praise or condemnation. I think that considering the general type of human mind constituting part of the physical make-up of the mut public, I am perfectly content to be condemned by them. It's an honor to put entirely out of their class by them themselves.

It has gotten very late and I am trying to take care of myself. I have worked very hard and have been under a constant strain and I want sleep and rest. You see how mature and careful I am getting when I begin looking after myself before any real difficulty comes. I am most careful of my food and proper rest and relaxation. Good-night and a big kiss for both you and Carl and oh how I'd like to have Schazie on my bed with me out on the porch. Please keep him clean and good. Don't let him get bad habits. If he once gets them it will be impossible to break him of them. I wish so much I had him. Maybe I will sometime soon. I don't know when my vacation will come, but it is coming and when it does the first train takes me home, with no stops off anywhere.

Oceans of love to the dearest people on earth.